made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môô (i.e., "conceived in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe, may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

I do not know the exact word for fetus; people say abum, belly. There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and working in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan